/75/

Introduction

It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Čipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 3]

1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added: McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

/76 cont./
/114 of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, /177 facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. /114 If I consider the few notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

342 [361] Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners; although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

/114 cont./

113 V. Huot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

133 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about
●361 30 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacha, the first spur of the Cordillera to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not
114 stand on the banks of the Barras River or the Chipaya as shown on
361 the map of the Créqui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have
133 for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time at the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was Passably filled with water.

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[179] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[631] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

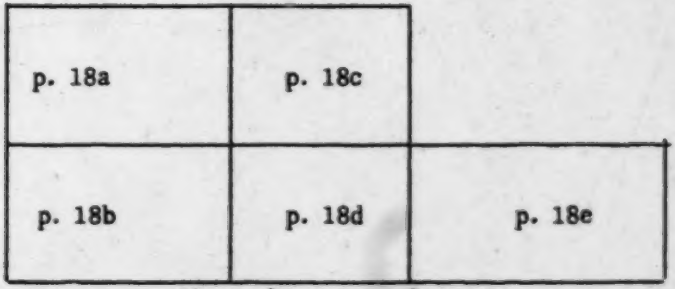

Chart of Positions of Map 2.
[Facing p. 18a]

/120a/

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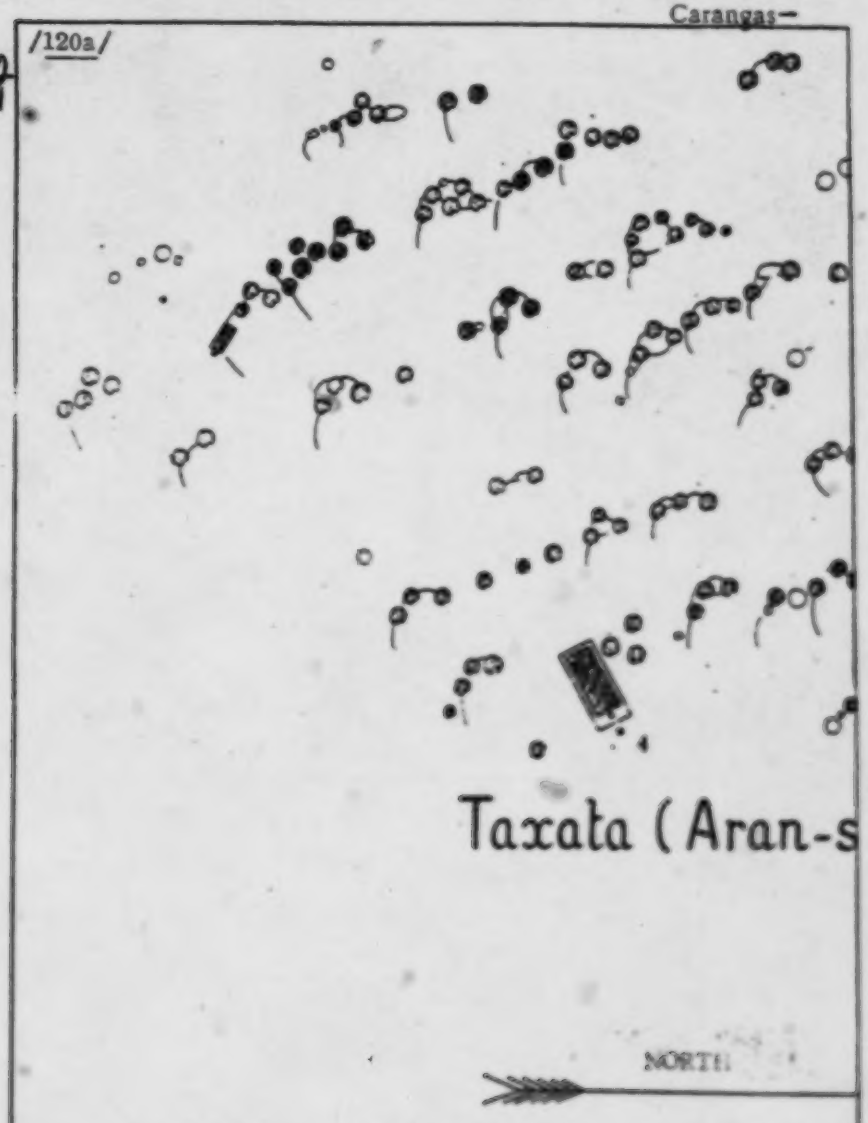

Map 2. Chipaya village and its clans.
1: Church; 2: Prison; 3: Cemetery; 4, 5, 6: Chapels

Carangas-
Chipaya

/120a cont./

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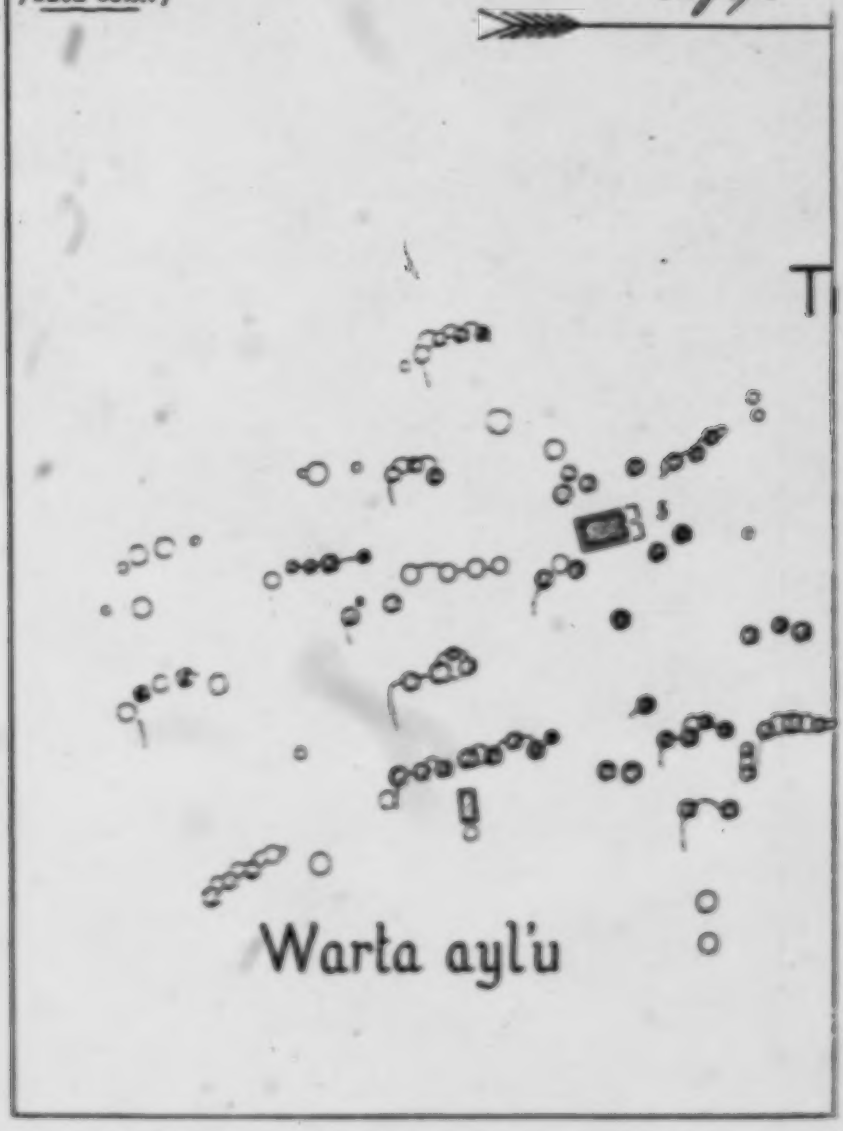

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Carangas—
Chipaya

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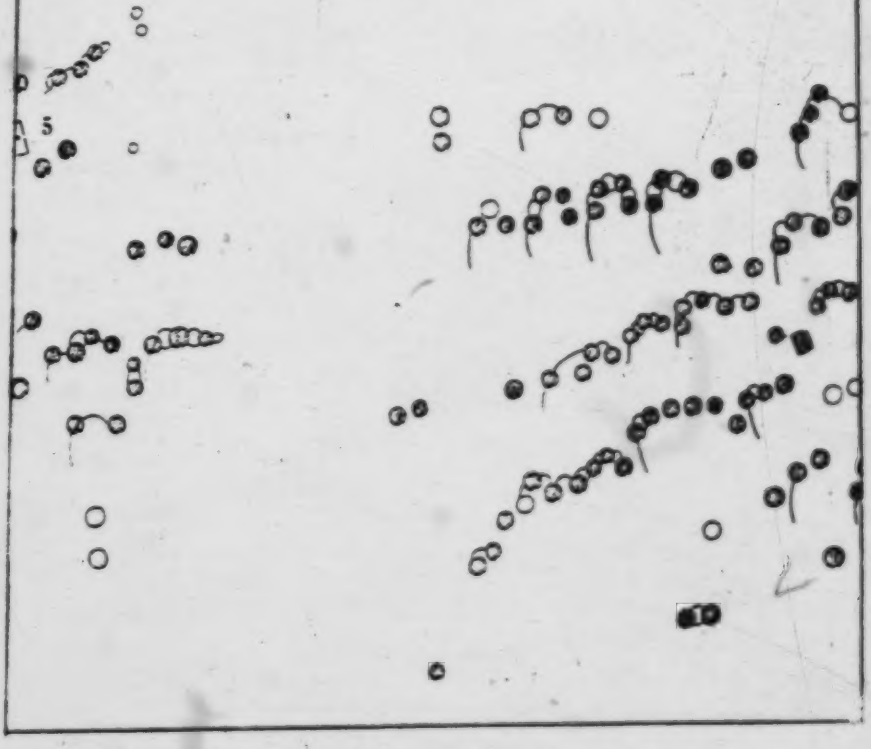
/120a cont./

Tuanta (Manan-saya)



Carangas—
Chipaya

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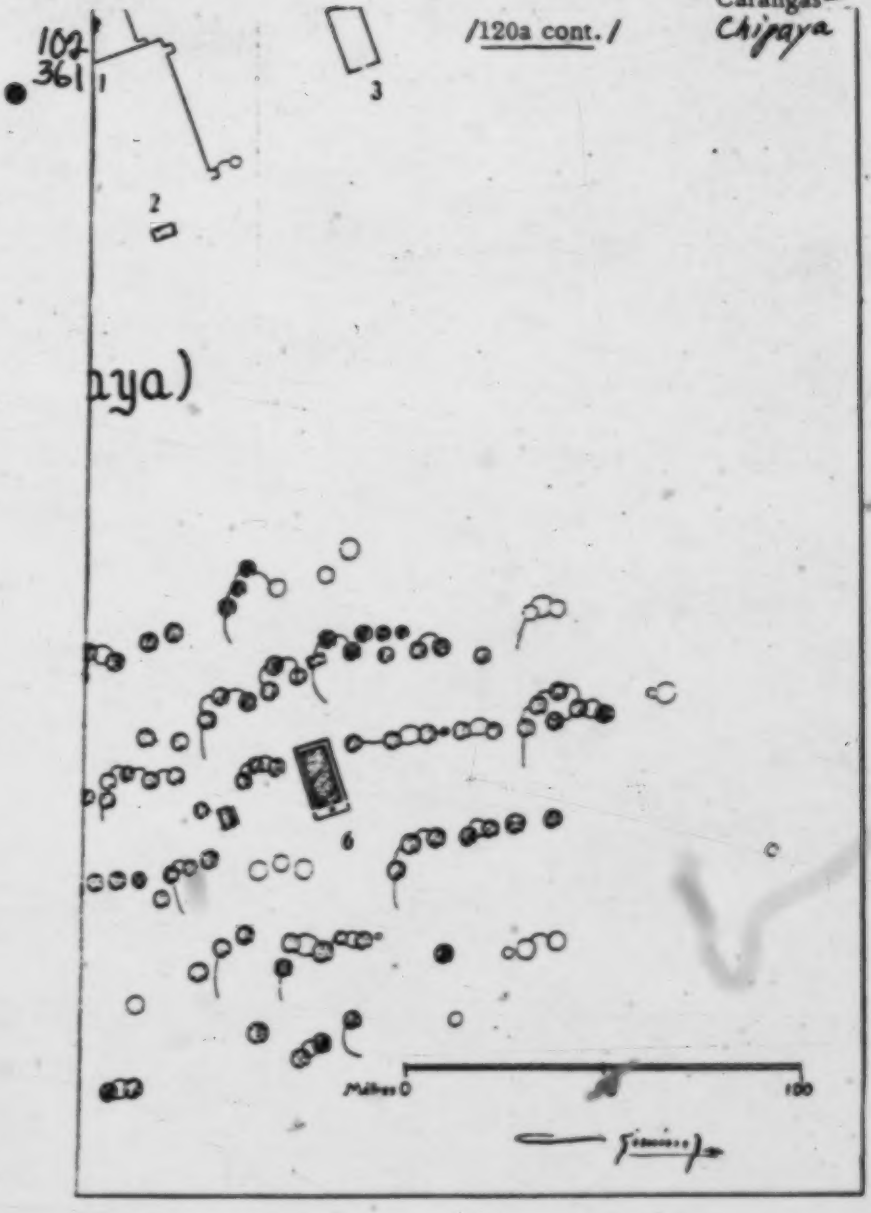

/121 cont./

621 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
614 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
[191] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[196] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

I 346 978

/122 cont./

in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

Carangas—
Chipaya

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kʷas-kʷoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

2:Métraux--30 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

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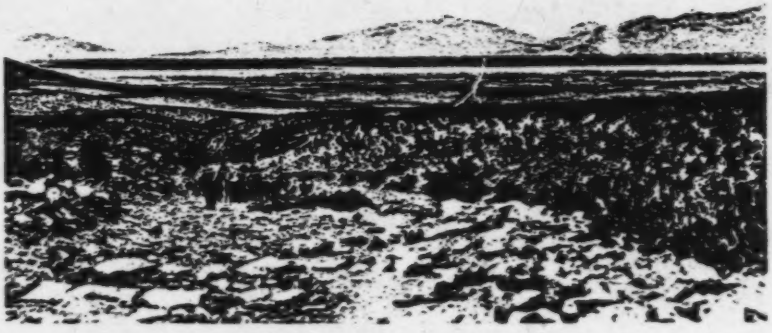
Plate VI



A. — The Carangas puna.

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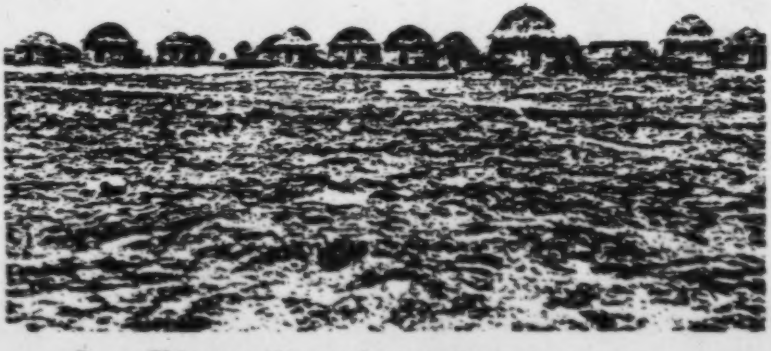

B. — Chipaya village: the western saya (taxata).

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which 311 [312] cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 331 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts 343 shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses 311 of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 417 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (k^{x}as-k^{x}oya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [542] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

2:Métraux--213 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

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Plate IV

A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the homes had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; [101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were [361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/. 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 [648] [611] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [928] [949] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [ie., Lake Titicaca outlet--Author]

[19th Century]

/36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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Indigenista

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uru, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *iru*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

Town of the Chipaya Indians on bank of Lauca River, Bolivia. Their mud houses are usually thatch-roofed

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303 - B]

SFPdn T-8 (ca.1954) 1955 Aymara SF5
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A 324 [598] We stop for a moment at the village, around which is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths taken from Tiahuanaco. The early paintings in their charming frames are in bad condition and some much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia, and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb, and was gone.

A 324 353 358

A 782 788

U 114 489 We followed the road towards the lake till we came to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But fatally realising that there is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched, we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local communists, where we should film her, her daughter Juana and her son-

U [361]

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U 123 [illegible]

U 124

[i.e., the village of Tiahuanaco — Author]

[A 309 - A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Pois, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahuallamaya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 35 km. from Lake Titicaca *Irunito*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South American ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution aux folk-lore andins* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 28, p. 73) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Nunoa, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Alto-Ilumaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiáqui*, an inlet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sajajaña*, 3 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Uros"; it is an estancia where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chuvaqui*, *Taquna*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-cota*, *Machacamarca*, *Ucuni-cota*, *Huallaquari*, *Calayamjoni*, and *Tacani* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taquna* (W.La.B.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero adhered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancomqui (*kaŋ'o-kaŋ'o*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *comunidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *alcate* (head of the *comunidad*,) from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancomqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *comunidad* of Ancomqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancomqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] Ignd. Tyrtéiio Polo, *Poblac. Ind. Peru y Bolivia*, [*Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, 1902, 13: 465-482], p. 466. D. M. Jiménez de la Espada (in Rivero-Lemaire, *Les loges de los Aléphones de la América del Sud*, *Le Pas*, 1908, p. 142) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of Chucuito." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Aymára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The legal term "comunidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the altiplano). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Comunidad"—as opposed to the term "hacienda" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so named.

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need be done is to follow the system which the common people have, and what there is to remedy is not very difficult. And I wish to conclude with the following: that by the same token by which it is being pretended that the Indians should be treated fairly, by making a census of them and by apportioning the tribute by individuals or heads for the sake of this sum, this would do them greater injustice and greater harm than any which might be done by leaving them in their communities. And because, were it attempted that they pay equally, it is quite clear that, if one has ten sheep /carneros/ and another has none, the apportionment is unfair when the one pays as much as the other, and if one has a metal mine from which silver can be obtained, so that what he might get out of it in one day would be equal to the distribution for an entire year, the division cannot be equal with one who must work for three or four months to obtain his tribute as a single person, and if he has no ability, and they let him free, perhaps /160/ he will not even find it or earn it in a whole year. If their system were charged for them, however little their tax might be, and if one subdivision /parcialidad/ has fertile lands where normally they harvest more than does another, justice would not be done if they must divide the tribute man for man with another which does not have such. And one who has three sons who help him and several women who join him is to be taxed the same as one who has but one woman, and perhaps an old one, and has nobody to help him plant and harvest. The one who proposed this scheme will not come out well with his estimates. And if in one repartimiento there are both native-born and mytimaes, and they should want them to pay by persons, both the former and the latter, I am convinced that when the harm were seen there would no longer be any chance of remedying it. Or if the repartimiento has fishermen, who are men like the others, and even tradesmen who are for the time better able to weave and to make cloth than others, I do not know what apportionment could be made by individuals among people whom, every time the regiment /tercio/ comes, it will be necessary to put up nets

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/160 cont./ to catch in the water, since it is true that their homes have no other foundation than a few cattails in the water, which is where they may be staying this year, and next year they will probably move, sometimes five leagues away, and it is even true, to be sure, that if you should ask them about one another, they say that they have moved a greater or a lesser distance, and they dissemble a great deal, and they can not be located in a lifetime (132).

132. It is the Uros Indians to whom the Licentiate is referring. For information about these Indians, see what is said in this regard by the chronicler Antonio de Herrera, in his Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos /General History of the Deeds of the Spaniards/, etc., Decade V, Book III, p. 73. See also, concerning the Uros, Basadue, Riquezas Peruanas /Peruvian Wealth/, p. 196, Lima, 1884.

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And if in one repartimiento there is livestock owned by subdivisions /parcialidades/ in addition to what is communal, there is no reason to match those who have a large number with those whose fate is either to have none or to have much less; or if there is someone who considers himself so able and so sufficient that he can affirm that /161/ the tax and the distribution can take all of this into account, when the livestock are often 50 leagues away from the town, and the other things being matters which it would not be possible to verify in 20 years, even were everyone to work to obtain the information about what the Indians have, and each of them in particular, for I do believe, when I take into consideration the state of the World, that there will be no lack of persons bold enough to try it. But there is no reason to pay any attention to the way it may appear, because, even were it possible, it would first be necessary to divide by the number of persons everything which they have in common, which is everything that they